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CARLO PALADINI

THE UNITED STATES, WILSON AND ITALY

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The United States, Wilson and Italy

BY

CARLO PALADINI

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DEDICATION

TO THE AMERICAN PRESS IN GENERAL, BUT TO THE *NEW YORK HERALD, NEW YORK TIMES, NEW YORK TRIBUNE,* AND *NEW YORK EVENING POST,* IN PARTICULAR, WHICH HAVE ALWAYS UPHELD THE PATRIOTIC AND DEMOCRATIC AIMS OF ITALY, WITH GRATITUDE AND SYMPATHY.

CARLO PALADINI

FLORENCE - January 1918.

DIRECT
JUN 6 -18

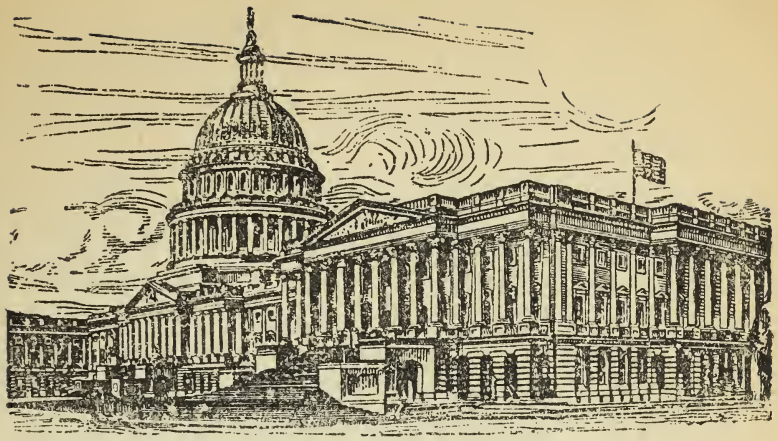
When a man hath no freedom to fight for at home,
Let him combat for that of his neighbours;

. . . . . .

To do good to mankind is the chivalrous plan
And is always as nobly requited;....

. . . . . .

BYRON at Ravenna 1820.



George Washington made use of war to establish and extend the reign of peace and justice. His upbringing and standards were essentially British. Who can imagine a George Washington of German origin!

Rising to power without personal ambition, he left it without regret as soon as the safety of his country allowed. He was and always will be the model President for all democratic republics. The ex-President of the historic University of Princeton has written a beautiful biography of this great leader, worthy of being translated into Italian.

Following him, Abraham Lincoln, in his famous speech at Gettysburg proclaimed the re-birth of liberty, and desired for his country a " government of the people, for the people, and by the people ".

Keeping to the same general principle, President Wilson has taken a broader view. His predecessors fought for and won liberty and independence of their great country. He, following in their spiritual footsteps, has with heroic hardihood induced his country to enter the arena, where nearly all of old Europe is fighting, to win independence and peace for the world.

We all, at the time of the famous Notes, in an hour least adapted for forming just and unbiassed opinions, passed judgment on Woodrow Wilson - a Wilson misunderstood and considered wanting in practical judgment because of his delay in taking part in the conflict.

This, thanks be to God, was not the true Wilson under whom the United States continues its noble policy of liberty and justice. Only now, in the light of things to be accomplished, can we discern the real man; and although the time chosen by him was not that desidered by his impatient critics, when his conscience told him that the right moment had arrived, he immediately understood his duty and in him democracy found its most energetic and inspired prophet.

If it be not exact to regard the United States as of exclusively British blood, no one can deny that its ideals, its political education, its sense of the inviolability of the citizen and of liberty supreme and intangible, not in a theoretical but in a practical sense, are of English derivation.

The fundamental doctrines upon which the nation is based are English. The history of the early colonies is English. Ideals, transmitted by them, flowing like the quickening sap through the many-centuried sequoias of California, are English. The language spoken is the language of Milton and Shakespeare. The moral doctrines are the doctrines of the holy fathers of the British people — Hampden, Cromwell, Bright, Gladstone and Asquith.

The first American colonists were nearly all of British origin, wholly British in their traditions and character. Even at the present time, in spite of the foreign element introduced during the past 100 years, the United States can, in its entirety, be considered a variety — perhaps a little hybrid — of the British race.

President Wilson was born in Virginia — the oldest, noblest and most romantic of all the colonies; its name a memory

of and a homage to Queen Elizabeth, under whose reign it was founded. His ancestors were of Scotch and Irish origin. We must not forget that the greater part of the British colonists crossed the Atlantic exclusively for reasons of liberty, politics and religion, not, as do the emigrants of today, to better their economic condition.

The American colonies owed their existence and rapid development to the shrewd judgment of the Mother country which looked upon them as an outlet for those whose religious principles were at variance with those of the Established Church. Thus, the Pilgrim Fathers of New England were Puritans; an honest, courageous and peaceable Quaker, inflamed by his love for God and his neighbor, founded an exemplary colony afterwards called " the holy experiment of Pennsylvania "; the emigrants to Maryland were Catholics; Presbyterians went to the colony of East Jersey; Lutherans and Moravians left Germany for Pennsylvania and Georgia; Dutch Reformed and French Huguenots were settled in New York, East Jersey and South Carolina while Scotch Presbyterians formed a strong element in North Carolina and Georgia. Religion was the creative principle of what afterwards became the United States. When these emigrants reached America, they had already the essential elements out of which nations grow. They were a congregation of free, pious and sincere spirits, and, with happy and tranquil consciences, were profoundly Christian.

Like the ancient Greek emigrants, they took their own gods with them but differed from them in that they had no intention of returning to their native land. If the " *Coloniae Civium Romanorum* „ were products of the State and of the military spirit, intended to provide new lands for the poorer citizens, for Rome and for the soldiers of the Urbs; if the Venetian colonies were the result of commercial enterprise, half feudal and half mercantile, it is logical to deduce that the creation of the United States was the result of the individual initiative of free men, of honest but rebellious gentlemen of upright conscience. The

United States — let us make our meaning clear — is thus the product of liberty and real, not official, Christianity. Out of the American Revolution grew a new nation, speaking English and with English traditions, but differing in precedent and in social and political doctrines, not only from Great Britain but from other European nations. While European Democracy showed itself both in deed and in fact eminently centralized and urban, the founders of the new American democracy did their best to establish a new democratic and republican order, absolutely federal and essentially decentralized, with a Christian foundation and a basis of good rural feeling. If European society, with its traditions, its castes, its privileges and its historical prejudices, with its titles of nobility. and its military influences, can be looked upon as composed of strata so that what is at the bottom stratum cannot rise to the top without upsetting law and order, American society can be compared to the ocean in which motion, combined with the rise and fall of the tide, gives each drop of water a chance to shine in the light of the sun.

To President Wilson belongs the credit of endeavoring to create a national tradition of race. He began, first of all, by denouncing those who professed a double nationality — that of origin and that of adopted country — holding that he who claims the privileges of two nationalities ends by having none.

In its early years as a nation, the United States was a melting pot in which immigrants of all nations were fused with the descendants of colonists, the result being a homogeneous unit. However, shortly after the Civil war, immigrants arrived in such number that fusion was impossible. They spread over the entire country, fusion had a period of rest, and each nationality at its centres drew to itself its own countrymen, who remained faithful to the country of their birth. American unity appeared to require only that the great nations of the Old World

should come into collision to make it fall to pieces. The Great Republic, flattered for years by thinkers and poets, seemed to lack, in critical moments, that influence upon the world and that cohesion within itself upon which optimistic Americans had laid so much stress.

With the declaration of war by the United States, Wilson by his speeches and example, has brought into being that "*real national loyalty*" which was the desire and aim of the highest intellects and of the most representative men of the Republic. Only in this way could the democratic principles upon which the nation was founded survive. Had these principles disappeared, the Republic in its present form would probably have ceased to exist.

Great Britain owes its strength to a virile and beneficent fusion of races, greater, until the United States came into existence, than any other that had ever taken place. Since, the declaration of war by the United States, this fusion has begun again. For the last four decades the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to Mexico has been inhabited by an immense number of people of different nationalities, not by a homogeneous race. Europeans could discern only dim signs of the ethnical moral molding of a united people.

We, of Europe, thought that America would continue to look upon a bleeding Europe, seeing in it only an opportunity to gain money. Wilson, following the declaration of war by the United States, has shown us a powerful, generous America, willing to fight for the rights of man, not only at home, but in Old Europe.

In a country where military is subordinated to civil life, where titles are forbidden, where the law of primogeniture does not obtain and where idleness in the individual is looked upon with contempt, it necessarily follows that each person's success in his chosen life work, whether it be law, medicine, engineering,

banking or merchandizing, is measured by the money he can command. It is a curious fact, on the other hand, that a millionaire can obtain political preferment, surrounded by esteem and sympathy, more easily in Europe. We who have thought that America did not appreciate the noble cult of "*Alma Roma*" mother of civilization to all nations — of that immortal Rome which through the impartiality and wisdom of her laws was able to benefit and protect different races and different creeds, aiding all to a free, civil life, calling those under her sway citizens and receiving the conquered into her arms as a mother — felt that the one main characteristic of American life was the pursuit of money. We should read in the "*New York World Almanac*" the list of gifts of philanthropic Americans — last year's list alone fills several pages. Hundreds of universities, colleges, libraries, hospitals, museums, parks, botanical gardens, scientific laboratories, theatres, etc. have come into existence solely through private munificence. Men of all kinds have given according to their wealth. We know, too, that people who really love money as such do not give it for the benefit of their fellow man.

It is true that the United States in the past few decades has been drawn more and more tomards material prosperity, — witness its crowded technical schools, — but its universities, colleges, libraries and theatres help to impress upon its people the value of the study of the classics. In this connection, a book of 400 pages, recently published by Princeton University, of which Woodrow Wilson was President before he became Governor of New Jersey and President of the United States, shows in what light the study of the classics is regarded by men like President Wilson, ex-President Taft, ex-President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Lansing, ex-Secretary of State Elihu Root, and other illustrious Americans. We could quote at length their opinions, all of which exalt Latin culture and Latin civilization. A study of the classics can only lead to a more thorough knowledge of the wonders of the old Roman

Empire and to esteem and sympathy for the modern Italy that has inherited this culture and civilization.

Americans who have never crossed the Atlantic have no idea of the real Italy, a land of superb beauty filled with works of art executed by men of transcendent genius; a country with buildings, bridges and roads which are marvellous even to engineers of the present day; a nation with thousands of workers in the arts and crafts who have inherited the skill and taste which made their forefathers famous; a land of eminent jurists, artists, authors, historians, antiquarians, etc., whose names are known and honored throughout the civilized world; a nation proud of descending from ancient Rome whose monuments and works dot almost every hillside.

Cultivated and travelled Americans know and admire this real Italy, and, given its origin and political instinct, no nation could have followed the course of Italy with more sympathy during the long years in which the country worked out its present political structure than the United States.

During Italy's "*Risorgimento Nazionale*" (national resurrection), the United States was looked upon by Italian patriots, struggling to free what is now northern Italy from the Austrian yoke, as a country in which they could get moral support and, in case of need, refuge. Foresti, Maroncelli, Castillia, Borgieri, Argento, Albinella, Tinelli, Bargnani, Benzoni, Confalonieri, famous rebels and patriots, after a voyage of nearly three months in the brig "Ussero", arrived in New York October 20, 1836. Even at that early date, Italians were not unknown in New York. Mario Bragaldi, architect of the New York Opera House, the Bowery theatre, the Astor Place Opera House, Palmer's Opera House, the Boston Theatre, and the Richmond (Virginia) Theatre had preceded them and was fast becoming famous. For two or three months after the arrival of these patriots, all

of the American papers devoted sympathetic articles to them and abused Austria. Foresti was called to the chair of Italian by Columbia University; afterwards he was appointed United States' Consul at Genoa. Maroncelli, who had lost a leg at Spielberg and arrived an invalid in New York, died blind and mad.

These patriots told of Italy's awful condition, enslaved and divided. When Pius IX uttered the famous words which carried hope to every Italian heart, a solemn meeting was arranged for November 29, 1847, in the great hall of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York, to testify to America's appreciation of his promises and the firm faith which she had in Italy's destiny. Horace Greeley, who was present, called this the most memorable meeting he had yet seen in New York. The Mayor of New York was in the chair, assisted by the Mayors of Brooklyn and Jersey City. Stirring letters, splendid pages of history, philosophy and politics, written by John Van Buren and James Buchanan, future presidents, by Thomas H. Benton, William H. Seward, John C. Spencer, Rufus Choate and Edward Everett, famous public men, were read. These men were joined by other great personalities of the Republic, who, in their love for Italy, put aside religious differences and political rivalries. The orators were James W. Gerard, Joseph J. Bosworth, David Dudley Field and other great public men of that time. Having saluted Italy, whose ancient laws and civil and military institutions had permeated the whole world, resolutions were unanimously adopted affirming the sympathy of the United States for Italy and that she was at one with Italy in the holy cause of her national renaissance.

It may seem needless to refer to the heroic and unhappy episodes of the epic agony of '48: The disaster of Novara — to Pius IX, who, after blessing Italy, deserted her cause — to the wonderful but unfortunate defence of Rome — to the abdication of Carlo Alberto — to the lying weakness of the poor Grand Duke of Tuscany — to the infamous King of Na-

La casa di Staten Island, dove Garibaldi fu ospite di Antonio Meucci.

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ples and the Two Sicilies. Italy was in mourning; her best patriots were wanderers and exiles. Beaten but not conquered, with faith in her destiny, she waited for God to show her a way of recovery.

For over 20 years, great souls, guardians of right, kept watch over Italy, inspiring her to make another attempt for freedom. With the fall of the Roman Republic, Giuseppe Avezzana, hero of the Piedmontese Revolution of 1820-21, whose noble attempts have been told by Brofferio, returned to America to make the Italian name more loved and esteemed. While there he married Maria Morrogh, niece of Plowden the historian. He was named Italian Vice-Consul by the liberal Cabinet Gioberti-Sineo, was warmly welcomed and received a sword of honor. He was called by American news-papers "Father of the Italians" because of his care for his fellow countrymen. Friend of Santorre di Santa Rosa, Mazzini, Bixio, Mameli and Garibaldi, he it was who, overruling Mazzini's doubts, appointed Garibaldi a General. Chieri, the town in which he was born, put up a tablet to him bearing the inscription "He died in honest poverty, ardently longing for the redemption of our frontiers". Soon after his death, Garibaldi left for New York, where he was the guest of Antonio Meucci — whose name is dear to Italian patriots — in his historic cottage on Staten Island. The Meucci couple used to show, on the bed in Garibaldi's little room, the red shirt worn by the hero ot the defence of Rome. This was the only token they would accept from him. Meucci, who was a scene-shifter and used also to manufacture candles in a little room in his house, had known Garibaldi in South America. Meucci's house became a sanctuary visited by all Italian exiles upon their arrival in New York. Avezzana, Bove, Righini, Oregoni, Foresti, Pastacaldi, Filopanti, Minella, Colonel Forbes and John Anderson were his friends and assiduous visitors. Garibaldi used to assist at making candles but his principal business was with ships and cargoes. At the end of 1851, he was given command of a ship by an Italo-American society

and left New York for Panama. He became ill at Panama and, after his recovery, left for Peru and from there, as Captain of the "Carmen,, went to Hong Kong. He had been almost two years in the United States where he brought hope to the hearts of the exiles and showed a splendid example of courage under adverse circumstances and of fearless love for Italy. He had aroused the admiration and sympathy of Americans for his country and for those who, in prison, in exile, in poverty or on the scaffold had suffered like brave men for their country. Giuseppe Garibaldi was always a friend of and was grateful to America.

His elder brother, Angelo, an intelligent and hard-working merchant, came to New York, where he remained a long time. Appointed Sardinian Consul, he removed to Philadelphia and died shortly before Giuseppe accepted Meucci's hospitality on Staten Island. After the defence of Rome, Angelo had seen the exiles leave for America on a ship put at their disposal by Cass, the American Minister at Rome.

Americans continued their interest in Italian affairs and on September 22, 1853, a great meeting, presided over by Foresti was held. Garibaldi, who had been askcd to attend, replied as follows:

New York, September 14th, 1853.

"I am leaving today for Boston and fear I shall not be "able to be back by the 22nd. I am obliged in consequence "to refuse the honor conferred upon me. I applaud with all "my heart and approve generous Ingraham's proposal. I am "sure that he is the interpreter of the feelings of this great "people (i, e. the United States) which is today the sole, intrepid "bulwark against European despotism".

"I feel the most profound gratitude for the honor conferred "and sign myself".

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI.

A solemn meeting was held on February 17th, 1860, in New York for the purpose of "expressing the everlasting sympathy of the United States for the Italian people in its struggles and longings for liberty". Among the speakers were Professor O. M. Mitchell, the astronomer — afterwards general in the Civil War when he gave his life for his country, — Charles King, President of Columbia University, Senator Beekman, etc. General Luigi Palma, Conte di Cesnola, afterwards founder and director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York was also present.

But the most enthusiastic and grandest manifestation of Americans for the unity and liberty of Italy that was ever held in the United States — the most spectacular and historic — took place on January 13th, 1871. at the New York Academy of Music at Irving Place and XIVth Street. The Academy of Music, it may be said, was a fitting place for this meeting, having been for many years the temple of Italian art. Italian opera began in New York in 1827, after a skilful propaganda conducted by Lorenzo da Ponte, librettist of Mozart's "Don Giovanni", and his friends Clement Moore and Henry Anderson. Lorenzo da Ponte was an original and strange character, a complete mixture of contrasts and contradictions. We owe to him the "*Storia della Letteratura Italiana in New York*" (History of Italian Literature in New York), printed in 1827, which is still read today. The first Italian Opera performed in New York was "The Barber of Seville". In his Memoirs, da Ponte writes that it was impossible to imagine the enthusiasm produced by the music on the cultured part of the nation. This was the first seed from which has grown the great tree of Italian music in New York. Colonel Mapleson, impresario of Italian Opera in New York, for half a century lessee of the Academy of Music, used to say to his friends:

" If gratefulness be not a vain word, Americans must raze to
" the ground the buildings in front of the Academy of Music
" to make my monument, because from there my statue must
" dominate Irving Place. I educated their tastes to Italian music
" and made them hear the most famous artists. Near me, who
" am tall and huge, should be placed by rights a little Luc-
" chese plaster seller, for it was he who gave the descendants
" of the Puritans their first idea of classic art — Venus, Apollo,
" Jupiter, Moses, could all be bought for a few pence from
" these wandering Tuscan artists who sowed the first seed
" of Art ".

The great tragedian, Edwin Booth, has told the tale of the first American orchestra, formed in 1800 by Ciseri, in which the first violinist was a Catholic priest fled from Spain, the flute player a French Marquis escaped from the Revolution; an ex-Sicilian friar played the drum but having wounded a creditor who importuned him for payment during a performance, bolted to Mexico; the trombone was played by a Leghorn Republican who afterwards set up a barber shop.

To return to the meeting, the following appeal appeared in all New York papers of January 6th, 1871:

" We, the undersigned, propose to express to United Italy
" the sympathy and congratulations of the American people
" upon the emancipation of Rome, and its occupation as the
" future capital of the nation; and to celebrate this event at
" the Academy of Music on Thursday evening January 12th.
" The union of Rome to Italy fulfils the aspirations of the
" Italian people for nationality, gives the Romans a constitu-
" tional government of their own choice, consecrates the right
" of National Independence, and closes the long period of foreign
" intervention of which Italy for centuries has been the victim.
" Consolidating the nation on a firm basis, it gives full scope
" to the energies of the people in education, politics, industry,
" commerce, literature and the arts, and tends to the realization

" of Cavour's idea. « A free Church in a free State », thus as-
" similating Italian institutions more nearly to our own and
" opening a new era of civil and religious liberty in Europe ".

This was signed by hundreds of the most illustrious persons among whom were John A. Dix. William Cullen Bryant, Samuel F. B. Morse, Cyrus W. Field, Henry C. Potter, Horace Greeley, Robert J. Livingston, William Adams, Ethan Allen, Levi P. Morton, Henry Chauncey, Samuel C. Reed, C. P. Putnam, Morgan the banker and his Italian partner Ernesto Fabbri.

The moving spirits of the promoting committee were Theodore Roosevelt, father of ex-president Roosevelt, and Professor Vincenzo Botta, nephew of the author of the " History of the War of American Independence ,,. The "New York Times" said, " Italian unity is the greatest event of the nineteenth century and must move and exalt liberals the world over ". The "New York Tribune said" " Every friend of human progress must be present at the meeting. The land of song, art, history and right, the ancient centre of civilization and religion, to day free and united, presents a spectacle that fires the warmest eloquence and the most luminous hopes. Similar articles appeared in the "Evening Post", the " New York Herald ", the " Evening Mail ", the " Commercial Advertiser ", etc.

Letters of sympathy with the objects of the meeting arrived from all sides. Among them were letters from Vice-President Schuyler Colfax, Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, President pro-tem of the Senate Charles Sumner Senators, Buckingham, Wilson, Howard and Edmond; from James A. Garfield, a future President of the Republic ; from the Bishops of Ohio, New York, Connecticut and Pensylvania ; from William Lloyd Garrison, Gerrit Smith, John G. Whittier, Ralph Waldo Emerson, T. G. Holland, George William Curtis, Bayard Taylor, Samuel Osgood and Justin Mc Carthy; from William Dean Hovells, ex-Consul at Venice and G. B. Mc Kinney,

ex-Minister to the Court at Turin, and, last but not least, from Rev. Thomas Farrell, priest of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Joseph, who greeted "Italy, free and united, independent of all foreign domination", declaring himself in favor of political and religious liberty and equality before both divine and human laws. Heads of universities, colleges and schools joined in the movement. The Press called it the most spectacular and grand political manifestation that had ever taken place in the United States.

The meeting was presided over by Major-General John A. Dix. So numerous was the attendance that Irving Place and XVIth Street overflowed with people unable to find room in the theatre. The meeting was addressed by William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, Parke Godwin, William Adams and other prominent men.

Full accounts of it, with sympathetic comments, were in the newpapers, not only of New York, but throughout the Union.

Following the meeting in New York, and, at the initiative of President Elliott of Harward University, a meeting was held February 93, 1871, in the Boston Music Hall. Among those in attendance were Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, Loring and other prominent men. Julia Ward Howe wrote a magnificent hymn for it. At the conclusion of the meeting, a message of congratulation signed by the Governor of Massachusetts, the Mayor of Boston, the Secretary of the Commonwealth, the presiding officers of the Massachusetts Senate and House, etc., was sent to Victor Emanuel II.

We have endeavored to illustrate the sympathy and moràl support which the patriots of Italian unity and independence always obtained in the United States. We have shown that the policy of President Wilson was and is inspired by the traditions

of the United States and the doctrines of the founders of American Democracy, and that these doctrines were those of the Italian patriots. In the struggles to create a free and united Italy, not all that was Italian came under Italian dominion. We are fighting as is the United States for democratic freedom and to liberate our brothers of Italian blood and traditions from the yoke which for so many years was borne by part of what is now Italy. In this, we claim the sympathy and support of the United States and of all patriotic Americans in the same generous measure as they were given in earlier days of the Republic. We ask for nothing more.

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